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619 178 167 The tables have turned by now. Reduced in numbers and robbed of their territory, the Pukóbye survivors have sunk almost to the same untenable position as the Krîkatí in the period of their destruction. Over them, too, the Damocles' sword of a massacre by Grajahú fazendeiros is constantly suspended. For a long time they have been ousted from their tracts along the Rio Sant' Anna (once named R. Piocobgê, after them) and pushed toward the edge of the tropical forest region of the Pindaré. For a long time they inhabited an aldea on the Morro do Chapeu, east of the upper Pindaré. The census of 1919 credits this village with 52 inhabitants, who are wrongly registered as "Canellas." The figure may be too low for that period, but confirms my informants' statements, that the true Pukóbye have dwindled to [162] very inconsiderable numbers, the majority of the people now inhabiting Pukóbye settlements being members of other tribes, notably Krîkatí refugees.

619 161 162 In 1929, when I visited these Indians, they occupied the aldeas of São Felix and Recurso, situated at a distance of sixteen kilometers from each other, somewhat north and south of Morro do Chapeu. They harbored possibly 150 and 120 inhabitants, respectively. In São Felix, more particularly, there were many Krîkatí from the settlements broken up in the previous year. In Recurso I heard about remnants of an unidentifiable Timbira group, the Kôtu'krekateye (those of the little black creek), who are said to have once lived somewhere between the upper Grajahú and Mearim; suspected of participation in the Guajajára rebellion of 1901, they had fled to the Pukóbye.

In 1924 Snethlage recorded one hundred and thirty Pukóbye words in Barra do Corda;[a] five years later in São Felix I took down two hundred and thirty.

7. The Western Gaviões

619 101 173 Somewhat below the Araguaya confluence the Tocantins bends northward from its east-west course. The forests in the angle thus formed are now inhabited by an Indian tribe that according to the tradition of the Pukóbye of the Grajahú steppes seceded from them a long time ago, betaking itself to the woods. As a matter of fact the Neobrazilians designate both groups as Gaviões without recognizing any differences between them.

619 175 101 The earlier reports on the region in question register solely a "Jacundá tribe," which, however, does not seem to have been of the Timbira branch. The first to mention it is Villa Real[b] in 1793. At that time they were living on the Guayapi and Jacundá, eastern tributaries of the Tocantins in the region of the Itaboca rapids. Their chiefs were Uoriniuera and Claxira, of which names the former, unlike the [114] second, is definitely Tupí. Notwithstanding the lack of all linguistic evidence Martius and Ehrenreich class the group as Tupí; the latter also erroneously places it on the west side of the Tocantins. The people are described as light skinned and amiable.[c] Ribeiro mentions them in 1819. Castelnau in 1844.[d] In 1849 they are still registered among the tribes within the domain of Santa Thereza mission, and in 1850 Ayres Carneiro met them on the Praia Ambauá, somewhat above what is now Alcobaça.[e] This is their last appearance in history, and in 1859 the Gaviões for the 619 175 221 first time figure in their place.[f] At that period they were hostile to all other tribes, likewise avoiding relations with civilized people whenever they encountered them

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 187 f.
[b] Villa Real, Viagem, 425 f., 432.
[c] Marques, Apontamentos, "Tocantins."
[d] Ribeiro, Memoria, Nota 51. Castelnau, Histoire, 2:117.
[e] J. F. Coelho, 76. Carneiro, Itinerario, 25.
[f] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 496.

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619 175 221

on the Tocantins, whose banks the Indians visited in summer in quest of tortoises and their eggs. Express statements deny that they were then in the habit of attacking civilized travelers.

The split into Eastern (Grajahú steppes) and Western Gaviões may date back to the closer intercourse with whites that set in after 1850. The section of the tribe that did not trust the peace overtures or spurned them on principle may then have retreated into the primeval forest in order to escape from civilization.

619 174 721

Subsequently the invasions of rubber collectors and later of the chestnut gatherers as well led to bloody encounters, whence the reputation of the Gaviões for great savagery. Especially in the little town of Marabá, the center of the rubber and chestnut traders, lying directly at the edge of the Gaviões region, at the Tacayuna confluence, people are constantly clamoring for the extermination of the tribe, justifying it with such descriptions as Simões da Silva in complete innocence presented to the Americanists' Congress in New York.[a]

In reality the Gaviões are by no means the bloodthirsty, predatory beasts portrayed by the pathological hatred of profit-greedy chestnut traders. Again and again they have tried—even after bloody punitive expeditions—to live at peace with the Neobrazilians on the Tocantins. But every manifestation of amiability was immediately followed by an invasion of the interior, which soon led to the killing of this or that intruder. Then there was a terrific hue and cry about "treachery," the incident was cited to prove the impossibility of peace with the Gaviões, and the Government was urged to shoot them down so as to throw open "the fabulous wealth" of their region "in the interest of the state." And the former government of the state of Pará, the very one that erected a monument to the Indian race in the Praça Brazil of the capital, actually took such measures some years ago.

619 648 178

The easily intelligible desire of the Gaviões is simply to live in peace with the Neobrazilians, without being crowded out of their villages.

In 1895 these Indians made a treaty of peace with Raymundo Liart at Bocca do Tauiry, somewhat below Marabá, and three of them visited Pará.[a] About 1912 they were in peaceable relations with Manoel da Matta in the same locality. For a number of years they have been maintaining friendly relations with a certain José Messias in Mãe Maria, somewhat below the mouth of the Araguaya, and permit him to exploit the stands of chestnut trees there. Basing their expectations on these amicable relations, which depend solely on that man's individuality, the chestnut gatherers have formed a whole village in that locality, and are constantly advancing in spite of José Messias' attempts to control them. As a matter of fact, one of them has already had an arrow shot at him. In consequence the police commissioner of Marabá, who had a short time previously shot to pieces a village of the Šikrí Kayapó in the Tacayúnas region, immediately asked the state government for additional firearms and ammunition so as to be able to extend the same tactics to the Gaviões. However, the punitive expedition never encountered any Indians—presumably because its leader was the above-mentioned José Messias, who did not in the least approve of the maneuver contemplated.

In 1937 the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios established a post with federal troops farther downstream, at the Ipixuna confluence, and according to the last reports the Gaviões have put in a peaceable appearance there.

619 721

Obviously since the destruction or expulsion of the Jacundá the Gaviões have

[a] Simões da Silva, 747–750.
[a] Moura, De Belém a S. João, 200, 223–236.

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241 412 section is clearly set off from the round part. The Eastern Timbira term for this implement, plĕwapo, means "sharp, flat wood." In probing for tubers, especially for sweet potatoes, these farmers use a special pointed stick some 40 cm. in length, which is often derived from the end of a worn-out bow. These two are the only native agricultural implements that persist in contemporary use in Ponto.

242 Except for rice and bitter manioc, plants of one species rarely occupy one continuous major strip, the general practice being to dispose them in patches here and there or mixed with other crops.

243 177 Among Timbira cultivated plants, maize holds the place of honor, being the only one whose origin is explained by a myth. Though Ribeiro mentions only two indigenous varieties,[147] the Rąmkõ'kamekra raise four kinds of small-kerneled maize which they derive from the legendary Star maiden, Kačĕkwę'i, viz. 1, põhįpéy, true or good maize, with small, white, and very soft kernels; 2, põhįyaká, white maize, somewhat larger, but otherwise similar; 3, põhįkreakáre, with small blue kernels; and 4, to'rómre, with black kernels of medium size. The large-kerneled varieties, põhįti, are additions from the Neobrazilians.

243 ● 221 805 The appearance of the Pleiades (krot) after sunset on the western horizon is a harbinger of the rainy season and indicates the need for starting a clearing in order to plant at the first rainfall. This ushers in the meipimrą'k period (p. 84), roughly coterminous with the rainy season since it ends with the commencement of the maize harvest.

243 624 796 *Horticultural rites.*—A man named Võkrãkę', whose maternal home is on the east side of the village circle, is charged with ceremonially opening the planting as well as the harvesting of maize. On the former occasion there figures a small gourd bowl whose edge is painted with urucú and which is filled with maize kernels. Võkrãkę' takes this container to the plaza and sets it on the ground, where people dance around it. Then he takes the bowl to his wife's plot and plants the maize, whereupon others are free to follow his example. After this functionary's death his office descends to the matrilineal kinsman to whom he has transferred his name.

243 782 796 When the maize stands about 1 m. high, another ceremony is held in order to induce the Moon, Pųduvrį, to ward off noxious animal parasites from the plants. Clapping together their hands and singing "Pųduvrįre kayẽ'yẽ' rivahá vaká mopó tu krére," all the villagers of both sexes then slowly dance in the plaza on a full-moon night, moving from the north southward under the leadership of a precentor wielding his rattle. In the rainy season they fear a lunar eclipse even far more than during the dry period, for they think it would destroy the crops. The relevant ceremonies will be described later.

776 782 In case of drought, however, not the Moon, but the Sun, Pųt, is addressed. Three old men then march round the boulevard, singing "kedeti/imąpéy/vayakrį' (Grandfather [=sun],/be good to me and/gladden me [by rain])."

796 624 243 No one—not even the woman owning the plot—is free to eat of the crop until the councilors have tasted of it and declared it mature. The maize harvest is opened by the same man, Võkrãkę', who inaugurated the planting season. First, a hunting party leaves to secure meat for the village. When they return with game, Võkrãkę' asks his wife to fetch from the plots a carrying basket full of maize ears, which are husked and cooked into meat pies to be served to the councilors in the plaza. Of the husks Võkrãkę' makes some twenty shuttlecocks, which his son Rąrą'k takes to the plaza and throws, one by one, into the circle of players. These throw each ball toward one another with the palm of the hand as long as possible without per-

[147] Memoria, § 11.

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The members of a house community of the type described are obviously closer to one another than to outsiders at large, but they fail to constitute a definite economic unit among the Timbira. The plantations of the residents are ordinarily in juxtaposition, but every married woman has her own plots and the house community as such has no property apart from the domicile.

However, the entire group will safeguard the individual's rights against any injustice from the outside. On one occasion, for example, a man treated his wife badly and deserted her, whereupon her extended family met for prolix deliberations and tried to force the renegade to pay an indemnity. In this sense the safety of the individual rests on his affiliation with the major family, and during disputes one often hears such threats as: "I have a large body of kindred." To tell a man to his face that he lacks kin is an affront.

On the other hand, the house community plays not the slightest role in ceremonial. Further it lacks a genuine head. Theoretically the grandmother should occupy that position, but this obtains in a small minority of cases because with increasing age her daughters grow dominant. Actually the main part devolves on some matrilineal grandfather or uncle, who may not even live in the house. A matriarchate and the enslavement of women are notions equally foreign to the Timbira.

Snethlage has correctly grasped the nature of this unit.[176]

Rainy Season Moieties[177]

During the meipimrą'k period, that is, from September to April—in other words, roughly during the rainy season—there are no major festivals. It is accompanied by a distinctive dual division which coincides with neither the exogamous moieties nor the plaza moieties, nor the age-class moieties—notwithstanding the fact that it, too, is connected with the antithesis of east and west. The two groups are called ką'makra and atų'kmakra, that is, people (kra) of the plaza (ką') and people from without (atų'k). The Indians are unable to explain these designations. The female members are termed ką'kwęiye and atų'kkwęiye.

All of nature is antithetically divided between the two groups, as indicated by the following incomplete scheme.

kąmakra		atų'makra	
East	Fire	West	Firewood
Sun	Earth	Moon	Water
Day	Red color	Night	Black color
Dry season		Rainy season	

This dichotomy does not involve the opposition of the sexes, but extends to animals and plants: all species that are black or show marked black coloring fall into the atų'k category; all those conspicuously red or white are ką'. Maize and manioc are ką', the sweet potato and cucurbit atų'k; yams are, according to the species, divided up between the two groups. The Indians justify the allocation of the celestial bodies by referring to the sun's rising in the east and to the new moon's in the west.

Affiliation with a rainy season moiety hinges on a person's names, which inevitably place him in one or the other category. The name sets are transferred by the same principle that determines allocation to a plaza group; a man transfers his

[176] Meine Reise, 464. Nordostbras. Ind., 170.

[177] It may in the future prove useful in ethnological literature to call "nonexogamous" moieties "agamic" or "agamous." These terms, already in vogue among biologists, would better designate moieties that are neither exogamous nor endogamous. R. H. L.

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IV. CEREMONIALISM

Among the Canella ceremonialism is of the utmost importance, absorbing a large part of the people's time and energy. At the same time it is so predominantly secular that to consider it as a part of religion would be doing violence to the facts. Ceremonialism is largely restricted to the vụ'tẹ' period, named after the girls associated with the age-class moieties (see p. 92) and practically coextensive with the dry season. The complementary part of the year is called meipimrą'k.

Every year the Canella celebrate some major festival—either the first (ketúaye) or the second (pepyé) phase of initiation or any one of three intercalary festivals, viz., kõkrít (Mummers); tepyarkwá (Fish Song); or pepkahą'k (Warrior-imitating). The opening of both seasons and the close of the ceremonial season are themselves signalized by solemnities whose description may suitably precede the account of the festivals themselves.

Opening and Close of Ceremonial Season

The vụ'tẹ' season begins with the maize harvest, extending until the Pleiades (krot) become invisible after sunset on the western horizon. This event ushers in the meipimrą'k, which lasts until the maize harvest.

Opening in 1931.—On April 14 the age classes assembled, each in the maternal home of their vụ'tẹ', whence both groups simultaneously marched, yelling and often stopping, to the plaza, where they sat down in two parallel lines. The best log racer, carrying in his hand a rolled-up cotton girdle with rattling *Lagenaria* tips (ẽų), sat down before the double line, and slowly began to beat time on the ground with it. All accompanied him, singing two songs in an undertone. This is the customary prelude to a race with two huge burity logs of exceptional weight, such as was scheduled for the morrow. The logs, fashioned in a camp five kilometers north of the village, were thrown down in the plaza, whereupon meat pies were distributed and consumed. In the afternoon a second race was run with smaller logs, which were carried to the plaza from the Ponto creek ford, a distance of only one kilometer.

On the evening of April 16 the youngest of the western age classes, the põhẹ'kama, headed by their class leader Yóro and accompanied by a number of boys of the as yet unofficial class, came singing to the maternal home of the eastern vụ'tẹ', whose mother, Yątkré, received them seated at her door. The youths and boys sat down in a row, while Yóro advanced toward Yątkré, pressed his hands against his knees—the posture proper in addressing a sitting person of consequence—and in soft, modest tones begged permission to recommence the vụ'tẹ' festival of her daughter, Iromkré, which request was curtly granted.

A little later the youngest eastern age class, the wakõ'kama, obtained the corresponding sanction from the mother of Repíya, the western vụ'tẹ'.

On April 17, before dawn, the boys had gone hunting pereás. They deposited their kill at the plaza site of the põhẹ'kama. Then all sang in the plaza and marched to the residences of their respective vụ'tẹ'.

At 5 P.M. the two girls took up positions in the plaza, Iromkré being led by her predecessor in office (vụ'tẹ'tum), Pụtkwẹ'i. She was painted only with a narrow red stripe running horizontally across the upper chest and back, though somewhat lower toward the breastbone. She wore a forehead cloth and a hip cloth in addition to her usual skirt. Simultaneously Repíya arrived from the other side—alone, because her predecessor was dead. Her body was quite nude, bearing a similar red stripe; moreover, her lower jaw was painted red, and a knife was stuck into a cloth